

Relation of the Negro to His Fellow-Man

As to the relation of the negro to his fellow-man. In the South the white man has been the embodied law, and the Negro has been the embodiment of irresponsible liberty. There was first the revolt of the Negro against law—and that meant, to him, against the white man, who was and considered himself embodied law against the Negro race. And it is this revolt of one against the other that constitutes the nucleus of the problem as it is to-day. There has been that revolt of unrestrained liberty and unrestrained law.

I am an optimist. Some time ago the *Literary Digest* defined the difference between the optimist and the pessimist as the optimist seeing the doughnut and the pessimist the hole. To-day the statement of conditions is that the Negro and the white man are together at war against the Negro's habits, his slavery habits. I think as fast as the liberty of the Negro becomes moral liberty, he has a lawful liberty. In Raleigh 28 Negroes voted for liquor, and 128 against. I believe there is a higher moral plane.

The woman who cooks in my house, I believe to be as pure and as honest and as careful of her life as any other being I know. I am glad to honor her. I am helping her in every way I can. On a recent visit to my old home, I asked where the mulatto section was. I was told that the old ones were gone and there were no new ones being born. If this be an indication of things in the South, it is an indication of progress.

A Social Critic of His Own Race

Socially, the Negro has come to stand a social critic of his own race. It is a question of social inequality in the race itself. Commercially he has come to be the owner of property. Educationally he has come up to a high level and is climbing all the time. Religiously the Negro has made distinct advance. And he has been helped along educational lines, by the schools that have stood for Jesus Christ and in which the moral standing and the educational standing and the religious standing have been looked after. These have been the best agencies for the elevation of the Negro in his development.

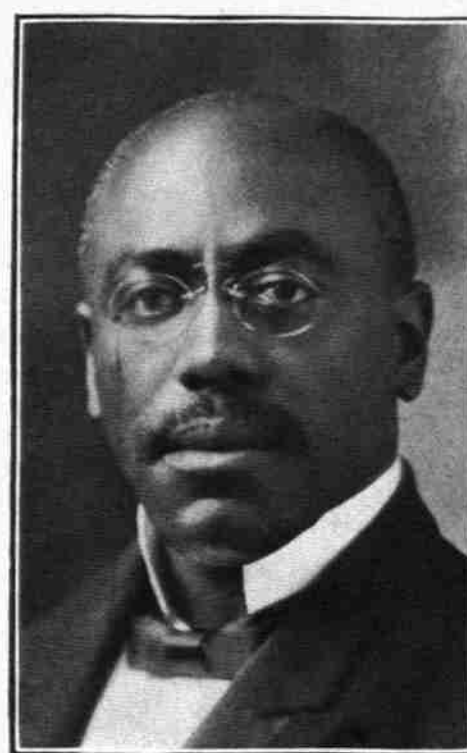
Questions of this size are not settled in a day; and we are not going to settle the Negro problem in any short time. He is not going to realize his opportunities in a day. We are beginning an educational campaign that, under God, will help him to be the best that was intended for him.

The Negro as a Free Man

Rev. W. H. Brooks, D.D., New York

Pastor St. Mark's M. E. Church. At Clifton Conference,
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EMERSON says we only know that which we have lived. We have lived some things. We have lived, and these things have entered into the very fibers of our being, and we feel that we know something on this great subject. There has been, and is to-day, a union of the races. They are



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together on some things. And these are very important things; but there is no union on the most important things. The saloon, the place where men and women are destroyed, places of degradation, are open all over our cities to our men and women. The few organizations of improvement, a large number of the schools, great corporations, business enterprises, trade unions, and other things for the welfare of mankind,—in all these there is absolute separation.

On the higher levels of society there is no union whatever. This union upon the lower levels has had its influence upon my race. When I was a boy in the country, we used to pull down little saplings and tie them to the ground, and then we would cut the string, and when they flew back they never stopped in the perpendicular position, but would sway back and forth like pendulums, for a while, until after some time they would be perpendicular again.

The Influence of Contact

So it has been, and so it will be, with our race. The influence of this contact in the lower things and the misinterpretation of liberty for license, the sudden coming of that day of play time, was so great that some of our men didn't stop when they were perpendicular. They simply went over. There was a strong backward and forward movement for a while. They must not be judged too severely for the swaying. You must remember the source of their education. We have been progressing. We have been progressing to a large extent. But we saw the white man's vices rather than his virtues. Your weaknesses, that,